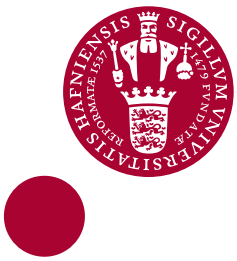

Gender, War, and the Military. On the Complexities, Conceptualizations, and Lived Realities of Militarized Sociality

Sløk-Andersen, Beate

Published in:
Kvinder, Køn & Forskning

Publication date:
2018

CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

Introduction

Gender, War, and the Military

– On the Complexities, Conceptualizations, and Lived Realities of Militarized Sociality

By Kathrine Bjerg Bennike, Sebastian Mohr and Beate Sløk-Andersen

Why should a feminist study the military? This question was posed by Cynthia Enloe in her groundbreaking 1983 book *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives.* As Enloe (1983) argues, the military is central to the social order more generally and for the perpetuation of patriarchy in Western democracies, which makes the study of the military the task of any feminist. In her argument, the continuous extension of the military and its values into all areas of everyday life, something that Enloe (1993) and other feminists identify as militarization, does not only legitimize the warring of nations. It also legitimizes a larger gender order of hierarchal relations between men and women (and other gendered bodies).

35 years on, Enloe's original question and answer are still as important as ever. The transformation of the military in many Western democracies in the aftermath of feminist activism, societal change, and political reform (like the UN Security Council

Resolution 1325) has not been straightforward. As the editors of the special issue *Gender, Conflict and Violence* of *Women, Gender & Research* in 2013 point out: "central to the military institutions and the value base they are drawing on are binary and, unavoidably, essentialist conceptions of masculine and feminine attributes" (Frederiksen et al. 2013, 6). Yet while the continuous and at times violent enforcement of gender through war and the military is relevant to critically engage with more than ever, some things also have changed over the last 35 years, including what the scholarly engagements with gender, war, and the military look like.

This issue of *Women, Gender & Research* turns its gaze to the potency of the military (as a social institution) and the force of war through the eyes of gender studies and feminist theory. Concurring with Cynthia Enloe that militarization is always a gendered and gendering process of social transformation, this issue takes the intertwinement of gender, war, and the military as its starting point. It explores the complexities of lived realities touched by the military and war, always attentive to the perpetuation of gender as social order while also on the outlook for dynamics of change. Committed to the importance of feminist critiques of militarization, this issue simultaneously builds on, as well as challenges, traditional perceptions of and approaches to studying gendered dynamics of military life and war.

The complexities of gender, war, and the military

Looking at the gendered dimensions of who was a soldier 35 years ago and who is a soldier today provides a first glimpse at the complexities of what could be termed the gender-war-military apparatus. At the beginning of the 1980s, statistics for how many women served in the armed forces of selected NATO member states read as follows: Belgium 5.8 %, Canada 7.9 %, France just under three percent, Netherlands one percent, Norway 0.5 %, UK 4.8 %, and U.S. 8.2 % (Enloe 1983, 127-131). Other countries, such as Italy, Luxembourg, and Turkey, did not report women in the military at the time (Ibid.). 35 years later, these statistics certainly have changed: across all NATO member states, women make up 10.8 % of the active duty military personnel with Hungary leading the statistics at 20.2 % and larger member states such as the US (15.5 %), France (15.2 %), and Germany (10.9 %) above the NATO average. As these numbers attest, women have continuously gained access to more military positions throughout the last 35 years. This is also reflected in the abolishment of bans that refused women's uniformed participation in combat in many countries for a long time. Thus, women are increasingly more than just by-standers and victims of or partisans in war. Their historic presence in the military is slowly being recognized through the work of scholars, who have attempted to break with the notion of the military as notoriously and ahistorical male-only territory (Stiehm 1996; Sjöberg and Gentry 2013; Larsdotter 2016). Moreover, norms of what kind of gendered bodies perform soldiering best are also changing with increased numbers of women successfully serving in military positions (Duncanson and Woodward 2016).

However, the NATO report also demonstrates that the average number of female soldiers in member states has more or less been stagnant at around ten percent throughout the last ten years. So, while advances in terms of gender equality definitely altered the composition of the military force (as reflected in employment statistics), the military nevertheless remains one of the most clearly gendered social institutions in Western societies. According to Cynthia Enloe, this should not come as a surprise. As she argues, the recruitment of women as soldiers was never pursued as

part of an effort to support women's liberation. Rather, their recruitment is first and foremost a way of guaranteeing the supply of military personnel and, by extension, a way of securing the achievement of militaristic goals (Enloe 1983). Following this line of thought, it is no surprise then that women's movements have had little interest in promoting equal rights in this specific context. In addition, most militaries have only relatively recently – and often only after the abolishment of male-only conscription systems – removed formal barriers for women in the different branches of military service. Moreover, NATO's own report on gender equality across its member states' armies hints at other possible clues for why recruiting women never really was about a feminist or egalitarian ideology: gender discrimination in military careers, lack of parental support, and sexual harassment at the workplace are continuous problems (NATO 2017) that undermine attempts by militaries to brand themselves as equal opportunity and inclusive employers.

Adding to this picture of continuous inequality is the discrimination that LGBTQ military personnel report. Militaries in Western democracies are not only perpetuating patriarchal gender relations. They are also frequently trans- and homophobic environments that enforce (often violently) cis- and heteronormativity. Accounts of the military's sexual political economy attest that being anything else than heterosexual and cisgender was for a long time, and often still is, unacceptable, even in contexts in which formal discriminatory measures against LGBTQ people have been removed (Sinclair 2009; Belkin 2012; Sundevall and Persson 2016). The consequences for LGBTQ military personnel are dire. From higher rates of mental health problems and post-traumatic stress syndrome, experiences of harassment, discrimination, and violence, to suicide, LGBTQ soldiers and veterans carry a heavy burden (Cochran et al. 2013; Yerke and Mitchell 2013; Matarazzo et al. 2014). In addition, institutional racism seems to be alive and well in many militaries even though military service often has been praised as a diversifier (Burk and Espinoza 2012; Riseman 2013).

Yet the experience of military life and war is also more nuanced than what such an account can convey. While there certainly is no doubt that war and the military in their Euro-American traditions perpetuate gender, sexual, and racial inequality and violence, life-worlds touched by the military and war are also probably more complex than such. (Auto)Biographical accounts of soldiers such as Harry Parker's *Anatomy of a Soldier* (2016), James Lord's *My Queer War* (2010), or Svetlana Alexievich's Nobel Prize winning account of Russian women fighting in World War II, *The Unwomanly Face of War* (2017), point to just that. While giving voice to the violence inflicted on soldiers (and civilians) by the military and during times of war, this kind of work also captures the profound intimacy, beauty, and joy that are part of military life and war as well. As such, these accounts testify to the complexities that characterize war and the military.

Recent ethnographic accounts of military life and war complicate this picture even further as they show the entanglement of the moral and socio-political dimensions of militarization and war with questions of self and identity and not least gender and sexuality. Alma Persson's account of deployment training in the Swedish Armed Forces shows for example how (military) masculinities are policed and (un)done during the practical training of soldiers and in the intimate engagements between soldiers that military space opens up for (Persson 2012). Through what Persson terms "repair work", soldiers "attend to the trouble that disturbs their established ways of doing gender" (ibid., 138) and thus (un)do their masculinities. In a similar vein, Zoë Wool's account of life *After War* at a rehabilitation center for veterans in the USA shows how

veterans embody and live the inherent contradictions of military life (Wool 2015). They strive towards a singular ideal of gendered, sexualized, and bodily subjectivity while also living the (extra)ordinariness of questionable masculinity, masculinities that were rendered dubious by war and militarism. Thomas Randrup Pedersen's ethnography of soldiering in the Danish Armed Forces also attends to such subjectifying dynamics of military life (Pedersen 2017). While not investigating gender or sexuality per se, he nevertheless gives an account of how young men, by signing up for military service and deployment to Afghanistan, become part of "a continuous struggle for warriorhood as a virtuous mode of being in the world" (ibid., 41). Here, the enticing dimensions of military service enforce the pursuit of an ideal of the warrior-self, a self that is also vulnerable and easy to lose control of, and thus, *Soldierly Becomings*, as Pedersen terms it, are never complete.

This incompleteness and incommensurability add to the complexities of military life and war characterized by persisting inequalities and gender hierarchies. They defy any attempt at a singular reading of the experiences and life-worlds of those who have experienced war and/or have worked for the military. The numbers presented above can thus not purely be read as manifestations of either successful transformation of the military institution or the failure of such. Rather, what the complexities of gender, war, and the military require is careful analytical attention to the emotional, moral, and gendered intricacies that characterize military lives and war.

The Conceptualizations of Gender, War, and the Military

The theoretical tools that feminist theory and gender studies have to offer in order to conceptually deal with these intricacies are numerous. While it would be impossible to go into detail with all of them in this introduction, we nevertheless want to shortly discuss some of the more essential ones.

Militarization, as already defined, describes the process of how the military's sphere of influence and how military values proliferate in society. In Cynthia Enloe's original conceptualization of the term – she was, however, not the first to introduce militarization as a concept – militarization consists of a material and an ideological dimension (1983). Whereas the former describes things like manufacturing sites being re-appropriated for militaristic production or the spreading of military aesthetics and attire in everyday life, the latter refers to the degree of acceptance of these kinds of aspects in society. According to Enloe, feminist activism is implicated in this double-sided process of militarization. As she writes:

> "If women who seek freedom from traditional sex roles begin to see military decisions to recruit women soldiers as triumphs of women's liberation, then they too have become open to ideological militarisation" (Enloe 1983, 10).

In contemporary scholarship, however, feminists apply militarization and its implications for gender roles in a more dynamic sense. While at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s feminists often tended to regard militarization as a process which undercut individual agency and possible resistances to militaristic ideas and values, feminists today are open to what Marsha Henry and Katherine Natanel (2016) refer to as militarization as diffusion; that is, militarization as a productive site of social transformation in which agency and resistances are produced rather than only undermined.

Part of this conceptual development was certainly inspired by feminist organizational analysis and institutional theory. While Joan Acker (1990; 2012) was not primarily concerned with the military when she offered

her theory of gendered organizations, her conceptualization of how gender relations come to play out in organizational contexts like the military nevertheless has had a profound influence also on feminists studying the military institution (Carreiras 2006; Persson 2010; Sasson-Levy 2011). In her original conceptualization of gendered organizations, Acker argued that:

> "to say that an organization (…) is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker 1990, 146).

This way of conceptualizing how organizations in Euro-American countries work certainly resonated with feminist researchers working on the military. Yet it also became apparent that social stratification inside of and through particular organizational contexts went beyond gender. Taking this insight seriously and drawing on her work at the intersections of gender, class, and race, Joan Acker (2006) then offered the term 'inequality regimes'. Understood as "interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities" (ibid., 443), it allowed for approaching the military as a complex institutional formation in which possibilities for action as well as power relations play out in a network of intersecting categories such as gender, class, sexuality, and race.

A third strand of conceptualizations, which certainly left a mark on feminist scholarship on war and the military, comes out of the literature on military masculinity (Cohn 1987; Morgan 1994; Higate 2003). In his analysis of the American military, Aaron Belkin defines military masculinity "as a set of beliefs, practices and attributes that can enable individuals – men and women – to claim authority on the basis of affirmative relationships with the military or with military ideas" (Belkin 2012, 3). Important in this conceptualization is that military masculinity can be embodied as well as institutionalized and even become part of a national self-understanding. In this sense, military masculinity is not restricted to the military but is part of a way of life, so to say. While the male combat soldier certainly is an expression of military masculinity, so are gym classes inspired by military drills as well as a sense of national entitlement installed in people through military power. Military masculinity is thus part of the process of militarization. It describes ways of doing masculinity that reinforce and aid the authority of the military as an institution of power and social order. As such, military masculinity is not a straightforward process of power accumulation. On the one hand, it makes for particular psychological profiles in soldiers by tightly weaving together "mechanization, intimacy and the body", as Ulf Mellström (2013, 9) argues, and thereby enables men and women to be soldiers. On the other hand, it ignites critiques and creates dissonances through which the valorization of the warrior soldier is "discredited as hypermasculine", as Claire Duncanson (2013, 73) shows, thus leaving soldiers vulnerable. Hence, while popular assumptions generally tend to equate military masculinity only with dominance and power, the lived realities of it ask for a more nuanced approach.

The Lived Realities of Gender, War, and the Military

This issue of *Women, Gender & Research* attends to this more nuanced account of gender, war, and the military. The contributions to this special issue reflect upon the complexities that characterize the gendered and gendering dimensions of military life and war by engaging the reader in empirically rich accounts of the lived realities of gender, war, and the military. Originally or-

ganized as a workshop at the annual conference of the Danish Association for Gender Research in 2017, we were invigorated by the contributions to and interest in the workshop and decided to plan a special issue that would display the important research going on in the field of feminist military research and critical military studies. While our own research on the military is grounded in Denmark and attends to the Danish Armed Forces and Danish war veterans, we invited scholars from other countries to contribute to this special issue. Thus, the contributions deal with the lived realities of gender, war, and the military in a range of different national, cultural, and historical contexts. In addition, we wanted to involve and provide space for activist accounts at the intersections of gender, war, and the military and are pleased to be able to include a contribution by and about female activist soldiers in Denmark.

We begin this issue with Cynthia Enloe's *Paying Close Attention to Women Inside Militaries*, originally published in her book *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link* in 2007 (revised in 2013). Enloe is one of the scholars that ignited feminist research on war and the military, in particular within the field of feminist International Relations (IR). Exploring the links between the military, gender, and civilian life through her concept of militarization, Enloe offered feminists a conceptual language through which to comprehend the military, as well as moral grounds from which to explore it. Merging scholarship and activism in her work, she has been a force to be reckoned with within feminism for over 30 years. In the chapter reprinted in this issue, Enloe discusses what it would mean to pay close attention to women inside the military institution. Engaging feminist researchers and other scholars and professionals interested in the military alike, Enloe makes clear that nothing but close attention to women in militaries will provide insights into how the transformation of militarism and patriarchy (and their interconnectedness) works, since, as she writes, "we will never fully understand patriarchy's adaptive qualities and its limits if we avoid studying those women who are trying to pursue their own goals inside such patriarchal institutions". Reflecting on her original contribution in an *Afterword* written exclusively for this issue of *Women, Gender & Research*, Enloe makes the case for in-depth and detailed engagements with the changing institutional and political landscapes of militaries all around the globe. Using the U.S. Marines as an exemplary case, Enloe asks feminists (and other researchers) to attend to transformations of the military and to critically assess whether these really constitute fundamental changes or only empty gestures.

Engaging with the paradoxical situation that many female soldiers find themselves in – having to fit in as 'one of the boys' while being recruited exactly because they are women – Nina Rones and Frank Brundtland Steder then take on a long-standing puzzling feature of military culture in their contribution *The Queen Bees and the Women's Team. A contextual examination of enmity and friendship between military women*. Through a comparison of and reflection on their own research on two different training units in the Norwegian Armed Forces, Rones and Steder explore the question why female soldiers often are accused of being quarrelsome and of causing conflict within units. They argue that misogynist gender stereotypes are confirmed when women are few in number and surrounded by male soldiers. They offer the term 'queen bee behavior' to describe women's tendency to distance themselves from other women in their units as a 'survival mechanism' in a male-dominated environment. By comparing their research on two different units in the Norwegian Army, the authors are able to demonstrate how this type of behavior is not inherently female but rather a response to the gender-

ratio and the gender discriminating context that female soldiers find themselves in.

In their contribution *Negotiating Gender: Female Combat Soldiers in Denmark*, Stine Emilie Knudsen and Marie Sihm ask how ideas about femininity and masculinity play out in female Danish combat soldiers' experiences of military service and deployment. Building on interviews with women who trained to become combat soldiers and were deployed to Afghanistan, Knudsen and Sihm's contribution is the first of its kind in the context of research on the Danish Armed Forces. They provide a unique insight into the (self)disciplining dimensions of gender as part of military life in Denmark and into how the policing of acceptable forms of femininity takes place in the institutional everyday of the Danish military. Through a careful and attentive analysis of the soldiers' narratives, Knudsen and Sihm are able to show how gender both en- and disables ways of being a soldier. Teasing out the intricacies of the gendered code of conduct in the Danish Armed Forces, this contribution shows just how important it is for women in the military to know when and how to do gender 'right'.

Following these contributions are the portraits of three Danish female veterans and their organization, the Danish Association for Female Veterans *Kvindelige Veteraner*. In *Herstory – Female Veterans of Denmark*, Gitte, Anika, and Maria reflect on being a soldier and a woman in the Danish military. As members of *Kvindelige Veteraner*, they are engaged in work that aims to increase female soldiers' and veterans' well-being before, during, and after deployment. As such, this work is at the same time political as well as personal. While other women in the (Danish) military are likely to recognize themselves in Gitte's, Anika's, and Maria's experiences, putting these experiences into words and bringing them into the public space in Denmark is something that has become possible only recently. The chairperson of the organization, Sara La Cour, herself a veteran, has been very active in opening up this possibility by addressing female soldiers' experiences through public engagement events. The importance of her and the other members' vigorous commitment to debating what it means to be a woman in the Danish Armed Forces can thus not be overemphasized. It is only through Sara's, Gitte's, Anika's, and Maria's goodwill and generosity that we are able to offer our readers an herstory-account of the Danish military. Equally thankful are we to Marie Hald who took the portraits of Gitte, Anika, and Maria. Marie Hald often applies a feminist perspective in her work. Through her work on fatness, anorexia, and prostitution, for instance, she has contributed to important debates about the social control of women and about the normative judgements about female bodies. Marie Hald has gained international recognition for her work. In 2018, she was chosen for the *World Press Photos 6x6 Talent Program*, was named *Young Nordic Photographer of the Year* and won the *Lifecourses Scholarship*. Because of her talent for capturing silenced voices and her commitment to feminist work, Marie was the perfect fit for capturing herstory through portraits of Gitte, Anika, and Maria.

In her contribution *'This is absolutely gay!' Homosexuality in the German Armed Forces*, Marion Näser-Lather next explores what it means to be lesbian and gay in the German Armed Forces, the Bundeswehr. Relying on a multitude of historical and contemporary sources, she unfolds how discourses around homosexuality and gay and lesbian soldiers have developed in the German Armed Forces. Moreover, she sheds light on how gay and lesbian soldiers experience soldiering in the Bundeswehr through an analysis of interviews with women and men who self-identify as lesbian and gay and who serve in the German military. Using Connell's well-known, and at times disputed, concept of hegemonic

masculinity, Näser-Lather explores the continued discrimination within the ranks of the German Armed Forces. She argues that the hegemonic ideal of masculinity in the Bundeswehr and its connection to idealizations of strength and equality create normative power relations for all soldiers. Yet while gay men and especially those identified as camp and effeminate are othered, lesbians identified as butch are often included in the military ideal of soldiering. At the same time though, Näser-Lather also shows that even while homophobia continues to characterize the German military, the queerness of gay and lesbian soldiers also opens the door for changes in militaristic gender norms.

Redirecting the analytical gaze from the military front to the home front, Maj Hedegaard Heiselberg engages with the everyday hurdles and consequences of deployed Danish soldiers' partners. In her contribution, *The Battlegrounds of Everyday Life: Balancing Motherhood and Career as a Danish Soldier's Partner*, Heiselberg illustrates how the military extends and affects the lives of those far from mission areas. Based on an ethnography of the everyday lives of soldier families, Heiselberg argues that military deployments disrupt the 'moral economy of home' by challenging both ideals of equal opportunity among partners outside the domestic sphere and ideals of parenthood as a shared responsibility. As Heiselberg shows, the wives of deployed soldiers overcome these challenges through continuous negotiations of the moral economies of home, parenthood, and partnership, marking the importance of the military institution for these women's agential possibilities.

Exploring the aftermath of armed conflict with a quite different scope, Theresia Thylin looks at the processes of reintegration of former LGBT combatants in her contribution *Embracing freedom: Experiences of LGBT ex-combatants in Colombia*. Drawing on very unique empirical material gathered amongst former members of three armed groups in Columbia, Thylin demonstrates the challenges that LGBT ex-combatants face as part of their transition into civilian life, a process that for many contains substantial and prompt transformations. In the article, Thylin explores how LGBT ex-combatants both during and after their time as combatants experience discrimination based on their gender and sexual identification, and argues for a need to challenge binary understandings of gender in order to ensure the protection of LGBT ex-combatants' rights and their participation in the reintegration process. This piece thus approaches the topic of gender, war, and military from an activist angle by offering perspectives for UN and other organizations that will help to account for the experiences of this particular group of combatants.

In the final contribution to this issue, *Gender Neutral? Revisiting UN Cold War Peacekeeping*, Martin Ottovay Jørgensen argues for a conjunction of often separate scholarly fields: feminist research on the military and historical research on the Cold War. Using the historical example of early UN peacekeeping in the Gaza Strip, he unfolds the potential of linking the concepts and critiques of gender and feminist research in peacekeeping with the historical sensitivity of peacekeeping historians. Jørgensen argues that the analysis of historical records of the first UN peacekeeping missions provide valuable resources for how to understand current peacekeeping missions and not least their gendered implications. As he is able to show, ways of being a soldier and doing gender in early UN-missions were entangled with space and locality. Taken together, Jørgensen argues, they became part of how the gendered dimensions of peacekeeping are understood today. Thus, merging the fields of history, feminist IR, and critical military studies enables a more nuanced understanding of the gendered mechanisms of war and the military.

References

· Acker, J. 1990. Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender and Society*. **4**(2), 139-158.
· Acker, J. 2006. Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender and Society*. **20**(4), 441-464.
· Acker, J. 2012. Gendered organizations and intersectionality: problems and possibilities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*. **31**(3), 214-224.
· Alexievich, S. 2017. *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*. New York: Random House.
· Belkin, A. 2012. *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire 1898-2001*. London: Hurst & Company.
· Burk, J. and Espinoza, E. 2012. Race Relations Within the US Military. *Annual Review of Sociology*. **38**(1), 401-422.
· Carreiras, H. 2006. *Gender and the Military: Women in the Armed Forces of Western Democracies*. New York: Routledge.
· Cochran, B.N., et al. 2013. Mental Health Characteristics of Sexual Minority Veterans. *Journal of Homosexuality*. **60**(2-3), 419-435.
· Cohn, C. 1987. Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals. *Signs*. **12**(4), 681-718.
· Duncanson, C. 2013. *Forces for Good? Military Masculinities and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
· Duncanson, C. and Woodward, R. 2016. Regendering the military: Theorizing women's military participation. *Security Dialogue*. **47**(1), 3-21.
· Enloe, C. 1983. *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarisation of Women's Lives*. Boston: South End Press.
· Enloe, C. 1993. *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
· Frederiksen, B.F., et al. 2013. Formations of Gender, Conflict and Violence and the New Security Agenda. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*. **21**(2), 3-8.
· Henry, M. and Natanel, K. 2016. Militarisation as diffusion: the politics of gender, space and the everyday. *Gender, Place & Culture*. **23**(6), 850-856.
· Higate, P. ed. 2003. *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. Westport: Praeger.
· Larsdotter, A. 2016. *Kvinnor i strid*. Lund: Historiska Media.
· Lord, J. 2010. *My Queer War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
· Matarazzo, B.B., et al. 2014. Suicide Risk among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Military Personnel and Veterans: What Does the Literature Tell Us? *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*. **44**(2), 200-217.
· Mellström, U. 2013. Changing Affective Economies of Masculine Machineries and Military Masculinities? From Ernst Jünger to Shannen Rossmiller. *Masculinties and Social Change*. **2**(1), 1-19.
· Morgan, D.H.J. 1994. Theater of war: combat, the military, and masculinities. In: Brod, H. and Kaufman, M. eds. *Theorizing Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage**,** 165-182.
· NATO 2017. *Summary of the National Reports of NATO Member and Partner Nations to the NATO Committee on Gender Perspectives 2015*. Brussels: NATO.
· Parker, H. 2016. *Anatomy of a Soldier*. London: Faber & Faber.
· Pedersen, T.R. 2017. *Soldierly Becomings: A Grunt Ethnography of Denmark's New 'Warrior Generation'*. PhD-Thesis, Department of Anthropology. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.
· Persson, A. 2010. Soldiers and secretaries: Gendered boundary work in the Swedish Armed Forces. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*. **26**(2), 166-175.
· Persson, A. 2012. An Unintended Side Effect of Pepper Spray: Gender Trouble and "Repair Work" in an Armed Forces Unit. *Men and Masculinities*. **15**(2), 132-151.
· Riseman, N. 2013. Racism, Indigenous People, and the Australian Armed Forces in the Post-Second World War era. *History Australia*. **10**(2), 159-179.
· Sasson-Levy, O. 2011. Research on Gender and the Military in Israel: From a Gendered Organization to Inequality Regimes. *Israel Studies Review*. **26**(2), 73-98.
· Sinclair, G.D. 2009. Homosexuality and the Military: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Homosexuality*. **56**(6), 701-718.
· Sjöberg, L. and Gentry, C.E. 2013. Reduced to Bad Sex: Narratives of Bad Women from the Bible to the War on Terror. *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning*. **21**(2), 64-80.
· Stiehm, J.H. ed. 1996. *It's Our Military Too! Women and the U.S. Military*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
· Sundevall, F. and Persson, A. 2016. LGBT in the Military: Policy Development in Sweden 1944–2014. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*. **13**(2), 119-129.
· Wool, Z.H. 2015. *After War: The Weight of Life at Walter Reed*. Durham: Duke University Press.
· Yerke, A.F. and Mitchell, V. 2013. Transgender People in the Military: Don't Ask? Don't Tell? Don't Enlist! *Journal of Homosexuality*. **60**(2-3), 436-457.